/15 cont./ At
62 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
177 quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
935 and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
133 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
464 lage.

184 In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
157 women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/ one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious, hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

361 Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
179 Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The results are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
114 of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
162 post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
177 tion of the region are not infrequent.

361 Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu, about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
621 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
162 the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbbá subgroup and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
114 men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbbá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó and Xapecózinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
114 portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
464 for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/ Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

2: Schaden--28 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

"Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has already also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements, saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of the body.

It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will make black magic against the individual. Men and women not infrequently become so terrified during the process that their sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá, where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation, incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the Guaraní.

In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural anthropology.

Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some, especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2: Schaden--77 E-4,5 (1948-1954)1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

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157 The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit of independence. To the extent that his physical development and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the [858] activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical means. Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and [855] less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is [857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /88/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

2: Schaden--79 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/88 cont./

524 155 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of Itariri). 524 197 But even in this respect acculturation makes itself felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western 155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child [156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 155 • 157 [828] The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament: as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

2: Schaden--80 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/69 cont./

861 155 • 157 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re- [846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn 856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child- 789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid 825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles). [1171] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen 856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn- 178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so 515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned. 856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with 789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously [1171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. -- 856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in- 856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

R Schaden--85 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[787] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[621] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
[64] become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[179] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a remi-
156 niscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
157 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Nanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

2: Schaden--86 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastão used to tell me unhappily:
•157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[698] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/

2. Marriage

584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.--- Among the reasons
[574] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

2: Schaden--164 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/127 cont./

753 754 171 Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This 753 754 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or 753 571 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, 578 generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves [182] [177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 • 157 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

/128 cont./

754 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily
157 preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are
771 looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not
[171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêno, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously --
756 tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon
[115] Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die
761 only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be
[624] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

/175 cont./ to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most caboclolzed, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person